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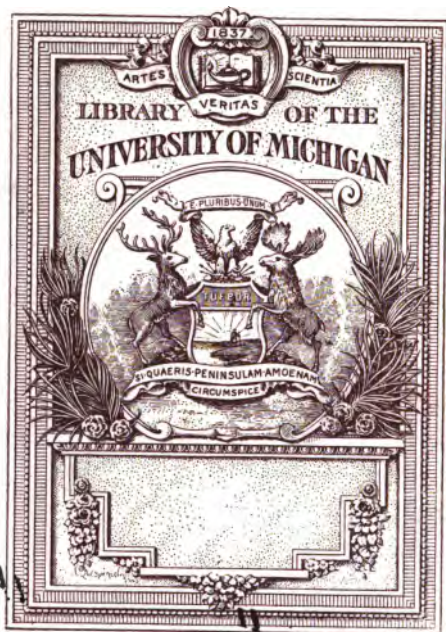
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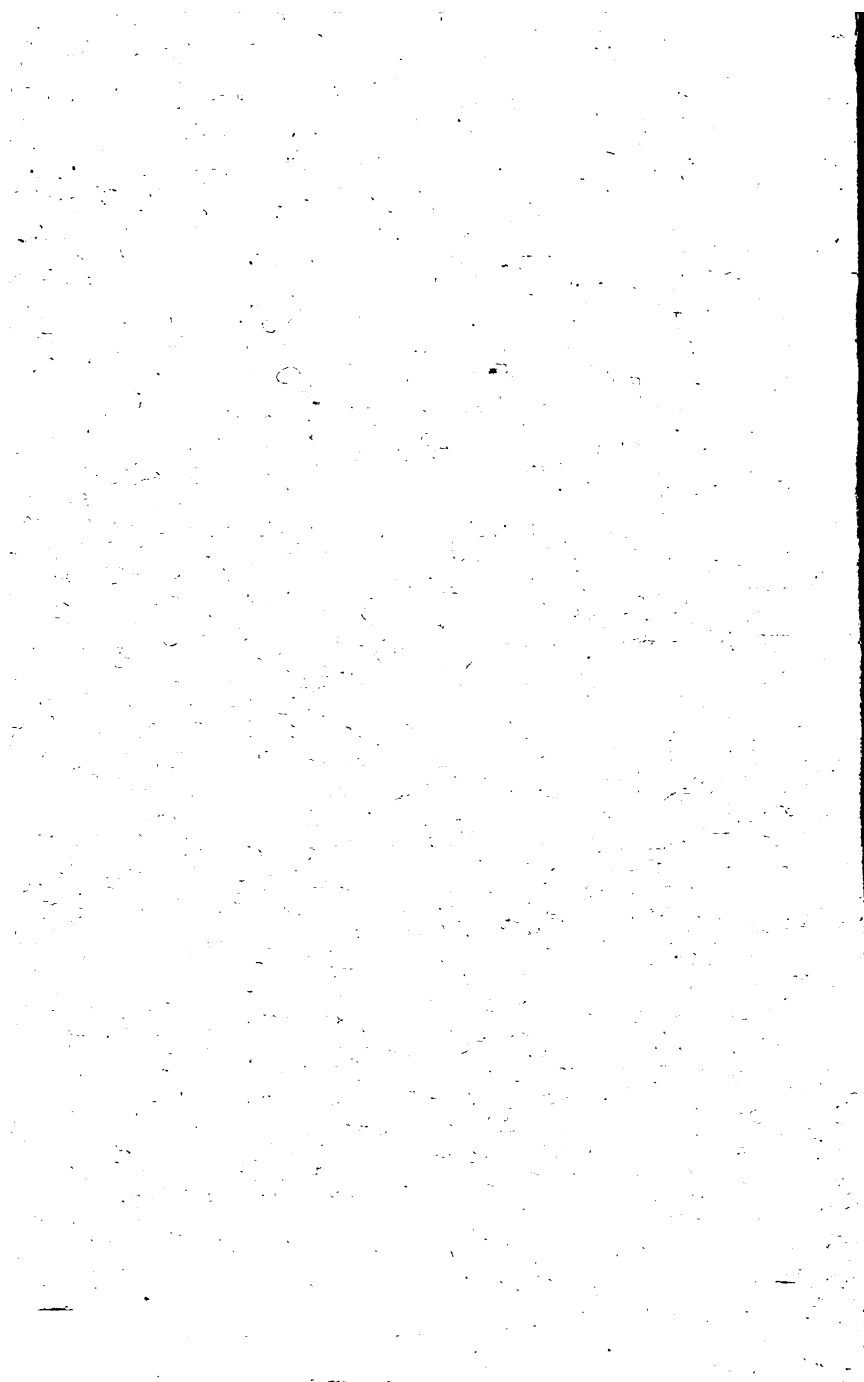
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MONASTICISM:

ITS IDEALS AND ITS HISTORY.

A LECTURE BY

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PREFACE.

THE appearance in English dress of Professor Harnack's essay on Monasticism should be of interest not to the theologian and not to the historian alone, but to every thoughtful mind. The subject, sketched in bold lines by one of the world's great historians, is no trivial and narrow theme. Within monasticism's mighty bosom have surged the passions and the longings of multitudes of the noblest and of the meanest of the sons of earth. Hope, fear, love, hate, humility, pride, self-effacing devotion, self-asserting ambition, world-renunciation and world-conquest — all the impulses of which the human heart is capable have flourished in monasticism's fruitful soil. The study of monasticism is the study not of a minor movement or of a side eddy within the Christian Church, but of Christianity itself, for Christianity was for centuries monasticism. But the study of monasticism is a study not of Christianity alone, but of life — for monasticism was for centuries life at its highest and at its lowest, at its noblest and its basest. A movement rooted, as it has

shown itself to be, in the deepest instincts of the human heart and ministering, as it has ministered, as well in the active and practical West as in the indolent and dreamy East, to a common need of man, may not be lightly spoken of or carelessly ignored. Though in these latter days we have learned a lesson which monasticism could not teach, though we seek in other fashion to meet our spirit's needs, and though its life ideals are no longer ours, we cannot forget that during centuries of sensuality and centuries more of barbarism, the world felt the reproofing, condemning, quickening and restraining influence of an institution which was a constant protest against the reign of the material and a constant testimony to the power of the spiritual, which was indeed the conscience of the world incarnate.

It is not just that such an institution should be known to-day only as caricatured by monkish legend and by monkish vice; nor is it wise that the genius of the institution should be lost sight of either through contempt for the baseness or through reverence for the nobleness of its historic representatives. We welcome such a study as this of Professor Harnack because it brings before us in clear bold lines not

monks but monasticism, because it recognizes and reveals the true place and influence in history of this mighty force. The author has not attempted the vain task of presenting within the compass of a single lecture a history of monasticism in all its varying moods and fortunes, but its controlling principles and the great epochs in its development are sketched with a clearness and a fulness that leave nothing to be desired. Brief though it is, as a study of the *genius* of monasticism, this production of Professor Harnack's earlier days is unsurpassed. May it find in Mr. Gillett's admirable version, in which are preserved in an unusual degree the force and vigor of the original, as many and as appreciative readers here as in its native land.

ARTHUR CUSHMAN MCGIFFERT.

MONASTICISM:

ITS IDEALS AND ITS HISTORY.

ALL Christian churches, however much they may differ among themselves, agree in the fundamental demand that belief shall display itself in Christian character; in the view that Christianity only attains its purpose when it begets its own peculiar life. Indeed the Christian life is the common ideal of Christianity. But of what character shall that life be? Here the paths divide. That different denominations exist among us is conditioned ultimately as well by variety of the life-ideal which belief presents, as by belief itself. All other differences are unessential, religiously considered, or obtain force and significance primarily upon this ground. Neither theological strife, clerical greed of power, nor national differences have, singly, occasioned the division of the church, though they have participated, and still perpetuate the division; rather, the varying replies given to the vital question touching the ideal life, have been its cause and have given it per-

manence. It is with whole groups of men as it is with individuals. It is not theoretical opinions, but purposes and intents which unite or divide men.

If we ask the Roman Catholic or Greek Catholic church wherein the most complete Christian life consists, each would answer : In the service of God, combined with renunciation of all the goods of life, property, marriage, personal will and personal honor, in a word, in religious flight from the world, in monasticism. The true monk is the genuine and perfect Christian. Monasticism is thus not a more or less fortuitous phenomenon, alongside of others, in the Catholic churches, but it is an institution founded in the essential idea of these churches as they exist to-day and as they have apprehended the Gospel for centuries. It is *the* Christian life. We are warranted, therefore, in expecting that in the ideals of monasticism the ideals of the church will also be embodied; in the history of monasticism, the history of the church.

But can monasticism have changing ideals, can it have a history? Is it not necessitated to appear in history in the magnificent uniformity of thousand-fold repetitions? Of what variations are the ideals of poverty, celibacy, and determined flight from the

world, capable? What sort of a history can they experience or produce, who have turned their backs upon the world and its varying actors, *i.e.*, its history? Is not renunciation of the world at the same time renunciation of all development and of all history? Or, if it has not actually happened after this fashion, is not a *history* of the ideals of monasticism itself a protest against the idea of monasticism? So it appears, and perhaps it is not merely appearance. The history of the West teaches even the most casual observer that monasticism has had its history, not only external, but internal, one full of most potent changes and most potent effects. What a chasm separates the silent penitent of the desert, who has not looked into a human eye for a generation, from the monk who gave orders to a world. And intervening between these two were the hundreds of figures, peculiar and different, who were nevertheless monks, all of them inspired and ruled by the idea of renouncing the world. But further, all emotions of spirit, the most passionate and the most tender, meet us, proceeding from this realm of world-renunciation. Art, poetry, and science have therein found fostering care; even the beginnings of the civilization of the Fatherland form a chapter

in the history of monasticism. Has it then been able to accomplish this simply on account of the abandonment of its ideals, or do its most inherent ideals permit of such effects? Does world-renunciation set up a second world and a second history similar to the actual, only purer and greater, or must it allow the world to become a waste? Is that the true monasticism which regards the world as a temple of God and perceives with rapture the breathing of the divine spirit in silent nature, or is that the true monasticism which affirms that the world, nature, and history, one and all, are the Devil's own? Both answers resound across from that region of monastic world-renunciation. Which of them is authentic and possessed of historical right? In monasticism individuals have been rescued from the fetters of society and common custom, have been made free and raised to noble independence and manhood; in the same monasticism they have been enslaved in narrowness of heart, spiritual destitution, and slavish dependence. Is the original ideal to blame for the latter; did it produce the former?

These and similar questions arise in this connection. The evangelical Christian has an interest not simply historical, in the answers given to them. Even if it is cer-

tain to his mind that Christian perfection is not to be sought in the forms of monasticism, nevertheless he must subject it to examination and acknowledge its beauty. Only then has it been truly vanquished, when the best that it possesses can be displaced by something still better. He who contemptuously waves it aside is unacquainted with it. He who knows it will acknowledge how much is to be learned from it. In fact, he will here be able to gain instruction, not simply as from an opponent but even as from a friend, without peril to his evangelical standpoint, nay, rather to its profit. Let us then seek by means of a historical review to get our bearings in the matter.

I

Monasticism is not ^{so} old as the church. To be sure, the church of the fourth century, in which it was perfected, was convinced that it found institutions essentially identical in apostolic times, but the prototypes cited then and even now as such, are mainly legendary. Still the ancient church was not entirely incorrect in its judgment. Of course, in the first decades of the existence of the church the idea of separating themselves, of forming closed unions inside of the communion and of exercising special

forms of renunciation of the world, could not have come to individuals. But those who felt themselves moved by the Spirit of God to devote their entire lives to the proclamation of the Gospel, relinquished, as a rule, their property and went about in voluntary poverty from city to city as apostles and evangelists of Christ. These apostolic men were called to mind time and again when monasticism sought to trace its origin back to the apostolic age. But further: all Christians, in so far as they treated the matter seriously, were pervaded by the belief that only a span of time still remained to the world and its history, and that its end came on apace. But where this hope is a vital force the earthly life, as ordinarily conducted, can no longer maintain an independent value, no matter how conscientiously one may regard the duties of one's vocation. The Apostle Paul had impressed this view upon his congregations under peculiar circumstances time and again, and with emphasis. Consequently, from the evangelical side he has been cited against all monkery and all Christianity that flees the world, on the ground of the principles of Christian freedom which he proclaimed. But it should not be forgotten that he also expressed the opinion in regard to earthly

goods, that it is more profitable to the Christian to abandon them; this we also read in the Gospel. Nevertheless, that which afterward developed into monasticism was certainly not recommended nor commanded in the Gospel. Jesus Christ did not impose heavy burdens as a new and grievous law, and still less did he recognize a means of sanctification in asceticism as such—He himself was no ascetic—but rather he set forth as an ideal, a perfect simplicity, a purity of purpose and singleness of heart which should always remain changelessly the same whether in deprivation and tribulation or in the possession and employment of earthly goods. He made most prominent the most simple and yet the hardest thing in the law, love of God and one's neighbor, and he set it in contrast with every form of ceremonial righteousness and fine-spun morality. His command was that each one should take up *his own* cross, that is, the afflictions which God had sent, and follow Him. In this following after Jesus, in which the striving after the Kingdom of God and His righteousness is realized, is included abstinence from all that retards and hinders. Afterwards monasticism sought to conform so exactly in its obedience to the definite command of the

Gospel, "Deny thyself," that it prescribed the extent of renunciation without regard to the constitution and vocation of the individual.

When the Gospel entered upon its mission in the Græco-Roman world in the first century and in the beginning of the second, it was seized upon by those who were receptive, as a message "of temperance and of the resurrection." The one certified a hope of liberation, and the other demanded severance from the world of sense and sin. The first Christians saw in heathenism, in its idolatry and outward life, and also even in the civil state, the kingdom of Satan set up in reality, and consequently they demanded a disowning of this world. But there was for them no irreconcilable inconsistency in their view that the earth is God's, ruled and guided by Him, and at the same time that it lies in a state of satanic devastation. Further, they regarded themselves as citizens of a future world whose beginning was soon to come. One who holds this belief can place small value upon surroundings without falling into the state of mind which some designate as pessimistic, and which at best is that of the hero, distressed and weary of strife. He will retain his joy in "life," for he has no more ardent wish

than to live, and he will offer himself gladly to death, for death leads to life. There is no occasion for renunciation of joy where there is the lively faith that God formed and rules the world, and where men live in the confidence that no sparrow falls without the Heavenly Father. It is true that fancy was mightily influenced by the thought that the present course of the world would soon come to judgment because everything is poisoned and worthy of destruction, but this world was nevertheless recognized as the place of the Kingdom of God, and it was considered as worthy of glorification. Christianity was compelled to contend with both the coarse and the refined sensuality of the heathen world, and, as one has correctly observed, it exhausted its whole energy in preaching the great message, "Ye are no beasts, but immortal souls, not slaves of flesh and matter, but masters of your bodies, servants of the living God alone." Every ideal of culture must remain in abeyance until this message was accepted. It was better for men to despise marriage, eating, and drinking, and even to regard their fleshly part as unclean, rather than that these things should be made actually unclean through sensual irregularity. No new principle can prevail

in this world of indolence and habit unless it practice the most incisive criticism upon present conditions and set up exalted demands. The earliest Christianity set up such demands ; but soon the question arose how they were to be justified theoretically and to what extent they were obligatory.

As early as the beginning of the second century a heterogeneous multitude of inquirers and of believers crowded upon the Christian congregations. Among them were men—traditionally called Gnostics—who had been fed upon and crazed by old and yet the most novel occult knowledge, but who, at the same time, had been captivated by the Gospel message and the purity of the Christian life. They sought to determine wherein the essence of the Christian religion, as a knowledge of God and the world, consisted, and they believed that they had fathomed the import of the Gospel, an import unknown to the multitude, viz.: God, the Lord and Creator of spirits ; and eternally opposed to him, the kingdom of matter, material limitation, which, as such, is evil ; the human spirit, a spark of the divine, but ignominiously captured by its enemy, the world of sense ; the deliverance through Christ, a disembodying of the spirit, and the restoration of pure spirituality ;

hence was derived moral obligation, complete asceticism, flight from demoniacal nature, union with the source of spirit through cognition and knowledge. In the conflict with this doctrine, which, though Greek, was yet seeking to legitimize itself as Christian, and in the conflict with the Marcionite doctrine, which in its practical directions bordered upon the Gnostic, the church experienced the first mighty crisis in her history. She conquered, and rejected as foreign and false this apparently enticing confirmation of her own arraignment of the evil of the present world. She recognized in those theses views that were demoniacal, *i.e.*, pagan, and condemned Gnostic Christianity, together with its asceticism and its lofty message concerning the glory and worth of the spirit, as worldly. She was also unwilling to recognize an alleged higher esoteric Christianity suited to the "spiritual," and, over against the Gnostic distinction of a double Christian ideal, she insisted still, though not with absolute certainty, upon the demand for a simple order of Christian life accessible to all. From the end of the second century it was definitely determined in the church that belief in a fundamental dualism between God and the world, between spirit and nature, is irreconcilable with Christianity, as is also that as-

ceticism which is based upon such dualism. It was indeed still taught that the present course of the world stands in contrast with the future, and that the earth has passed into the rule of evil spirits. But God himself gave it over, and delivered it to the devil. He will, however, exhibit his omnipotence at the judgment, a power which he even now shows in the victory of the faithful over the demons. The world is the Lord's, only it is ruled over for a time by evil angels; the world is good, only the manner of its life is evil. Thus, theoretical dualism was overcome by being excluded from "theology" and by the attempt to explain evil on the ground of the freedom of the creature which was a necessary part in the plan of God.) Still the enemy which lurks here may be slain, but never destroyed. It even found its secret allies in many recognized theologians who united dualism in subtle manner with belief in God, the all-mighty Creator. Under the most varied masks and shapes it has appeared ever and anon in the history of Christianity, though it has been compelled to disguise itself. But as an enemy doing open battle it has been conquered. Then appeared the second crisis in the church, though the first was not yet at an end. From the middle of the second cen-

tury on, the conditions of the external life of Christianity began more and more to change. Hitherto it had been scattered over the Roman Empire in a few dispersed congregations. These were furnished with only the most necessary political appliances, few and disjointed, such as were required by a religious union based on super-terrestrial hopes, strict discipline, and brotherly love. But conditions changed. The church saw crowds joining her, who needed supplementary training—education and supervision—as well as political guidance. The imminent end of the world no longer dominated all minds as it had done previously. More and more the place of the original ecstasy was taken by unimpassioned conviction, or perhaps by mere theoretical acquiescence and obedient recognition. Many did not become Christians, but being such, they therefore remained such. They were too deeply affected by Christianity to abandon it, but too little to be Christians. Pure religious enthusiasm waned, ideals received a new form, and the independence and responsibility of individuals became weaker. The “priests and kings of God” coveted priests and began to come to terms with the kings of the earth. Those who once had boasted of the possession of the Spirit, sought to find

this Spirit which they no longer possessed, in formulæ of belief and in sacred books, in mysteries and in ritual. Moreover, the differences of social position between the "brethren" asserted themselves. Christians were already found in all grades of society, in the palace of the Cæsars, among officials, in the shops of artisans and in the halls of the learned, among free and bond. Should all these be left in their callings; should the church take the critical step into the world, enter its conditions and adapt herself to its forms, recognize its regulations as far as was anyway possible and so satisfy its needs, or should she remain what she had been at the first, a communion of persons inspired by religious motives, separate and distinct from the world upon which she worked by virtue of her direct mission? From the middle of the second century the church was placed in a dilemma: either to begin a mission, on a great scale, to the world by means of an actual entrance into Roman society even if this involved a renunciation of her original endowment and power, or, retaining these, to preserve her primitive forms of life, though this involved her remaining a small and insignificant sect, understood by scarcely one in a thousand and in no position to rescue and edu-

cate nations. This was the burning question—of that we may be certain, however little it was then possible to recognize it—and it was a mighty crisis, in which it was by no means the worst Christians who called upon the church to halt. Then for the first time, voices were heard within the church, warning her against the advancing secularization, holding up in their literal sternness before worldly Christians those well-known principles of the imitation of Christ, and demanding a return to the primal simplicity and purity. The church itself decided differently, driven on by circumstances rather than according to its free choice. Through the open door she moved forward into the world in order to prepare herself for a long lease of existence, in order to Christianize the state in its very streets, in order to carry to it the word of the Gospel, but prepared to leave everything except the gods untouched. And she equipped herself with all the possessions which the world could furnish and which she could appropriate without bursting the elastic structure in which she now established herself. With the aid of its philosophy she created a new Christian theology, its system of government she plundered in order to gain for herself the most steadfast forms, its codes, trade and

commerce, its art and industry she pressed into her service, and even from its forms of worship she was willing to learn. Thus at about the middle of the third century we find the church fitted out with all the appliances of power which the state and its culture could afford; entering into all the relations of life, ready for all concessions which did not touch the confession of her faith. Thus furnished, she undertook and carried out a world-wide mission on a grand scale. But what of those conservatives and zealots, those who earnestly protested in the name of the Gospel against this world-church; who wished to gather, without regard to numbers and surroundings, a holy communion for their God? They were no longer able to remain in this great church, and the schism was hastened because, in order to give a basis for their stricter demands, the majority of them appealed to a new and final revelation from God, which was said to have been made in Phrygia. They withdrew and were driven out. But, as is usually the case, they became narrower and more bigoted in the very conflict. In earlier times a lofty enthusiasm had called forth strict forms of life almost spontaneously; now those forms, defined to a dot, must conserve and beget that original life. They became legalistic

in their manner of life, which however was only in slight degree stricter than that of their opponents, and they grew proud in the possession of a pure Christianity, as they claimed. The Christianity of the adherents of the world-church they despised as a mongrel, formal and unspiritual Christianity. Some have supposed that they found the precursors of the later monasticism in this "sect" of "Montanists," within the empire, and in the related, but older and more rugged "Encratites," [Abstinentes], with their avoidance of the world, their strict observance of fasting and prayer, their mistrust exhibited toward the spiritual office, toward politico-ecclesiastical order, toward every sort of property, and even toward marriage. This view is not entirely wrong if the motives of the two movements are considered, but in other particulars the movements were very different indeed. Monasticism assumes the relative authority of the world-church; Montanism disputes any authority whatever. At the beginning of the third century the expedient of a two-fold morality in the church, though it might already be approaching, did not yet govern the collective conception of the Christian life. The very exclusion of Montanism from the church proves this. Certainly the church

valued its confessors, its "virgins," its celibates, its God-serving widows, when they remained faithful to their communion ; and this she did the more highly the oftener she was compelled to recognize that they were becoming mistrustful. But these spiritual aristocrats were monks as little as were the Montanists. Moreover, | monasticism elevated a mode of life to a principle which was based not so much upon the prospect of a speedy revelation of the kingdom of Christ, as upon the thought of an undisturbed enjoyment of God in this world and of immortality beyond. Monasticism had to rouse itself to flight from the world ; the Montanists did not need to flee explicitly from that which their enthusiastic hope regarded as a thing that had already run its course.

But let us return to the church of the third century. These zealots had, indeed, justification for their criticism, since the great dangers which they foresaw as attendant upon the entrance of the church into the world-state were actually realized. The expression of the Apostle, "to the Jews a Jew, and to the Greeks a Greek," was truly a dangerous motto. Under the influence of a tradition which is centuries old, we are accustomed to date the secularization of the

church from the time when it began to become a national church under Constantine. This tradition is false. The church was already secularized to a great extent in the middle of the third century. Not that she had denied traditional dogmas and abandoned her peculiar character, but she had lowered her claims in regard to the Christian life in a serious manner, and the forms of culture with which she had enriched herself had become a means of her internal injury. Outwardly, indeed, she was more firmly and closely knit than before. She had become a state within the state, but the bond which united her was no longer religious hope and brotherly love, but a hierarchical order which threatened to suppress not only Christian responsibility and freedom, but even the sense of brotherhood as well. Her system of doctrine already rivalled the much-admired systems of the philosophers, with which she had become so deeply involved that her aim was frustrated and her methods distorted. Especially that latest system born of Greek learning, Neo-Platonism, had influenced her in marked degree. With that which she borrowed from this source, she sought to cover up the deficit which she early experienced by reason of the loss or of the transposition of her purely religious

ideals. | But the super-terrestrial God which Neo-Platonism proclaimed, was not the God of the Gospels, and the deliverance from the sensuous which it promised was quite different from the original Christian hope of salvation. | Nevertheless the theologians who made it a subject of study or attack became accustomed to its range of conceptions, and found their own altering imperceptibly. Further—the tendency to cling to the state became more notorious; ostensibly it was to afford it support, but in reality it was to obtain its support, and more was done to gain this end than was fitting. || Finally—the church could no longer enforce its already lowered demands touching the moral life of the individual, and often enough was compelled to be satisfied with a minimum, with external obedience to her rules of law and worship. On the other hand, one thing she had attained. No Christian now lightly attacked *her* claim to be *the* Christian communion, and she had established the belief that her organized union, with its bishops, its dispensation of grace, its holy books and its worship, was the authentic and veritable institution of Christ and of the Apostles, outside of which there was no salvation. Such was the Christian Church as the third century verged into the fourth. \

Such she had become not without blame to herself. But this much should be added, that while it is easy to compare this church with that of Apostolic times, or with the Christian prototype which she herself recognized, and to accuse her of gross secularization, it is unjust to disregard the historical circumstances in the midst of which she stood. That which she rescued was not simply a remnant which it was quite impossible for her to lose, nor a remainder unworthy of preservation, but it was Christianity itself in the only form in which mankind at that time could either understand or use it.

But this church was no longer in a position to give peace to all sorts and conditions of men who came to her, and to protect them from the world. Of the peace of God in a life beyond she could give assurance, but peace in the storms of the present she could not guarantee. Then the great movement began. Ascetics as well as hermits had existed from the beginning in the great church, and also penniless evangelists who journeyed from place to place. Individuals, weary of the world, may have fled to the desert in the course of the third century, and, indeed, here and there they may have united in a communal life. With the beginning of the following century their number increased.

They fled not only from the world, but from the world within the church. Nevertheless, they did not flee out of the church. They denied themselves honor and property, wife and child, in order to escape gratification and sin, in order to give themselves completely to the enjoyment of the contemplation of God and to devote their lives to the preparation for death. The prevailing theology, indeed, taught that the ideal of the Christian life consisted in that daily dying, and again in that adoration before God in which a man forgets his very existence and extinguishes his bodily being even to the border of death in order to be entirely expended in the contemplation of the celestial and the eternal. Such was the general theory of the initiated who took it in downright earnest. Furthermore—there has been, perhaps, no period more completely permeated by the thought that the term of the world's existence is expiring and about to sink from sight, and that life is no longer worth living. A great epoch in the history of mankind was going, in fact, to its burial. (The Roman Empire, the ancient world, was preparing itself to die, and its death-throes were frightful. Tumult, blood, poverty, and plague were within, and without was pressure on all sides from barbarian hordes. What was

there to set up in opposition? There was no longer the power of a state conscious of its might, nor the strength begotten of a unified and tried ideal of organization; on the contrary, it was an empire which was falling to pieces, scarcely held together by a sinking and decomposing culture—a culture that had become hollow and false, one in which scarcely an individual could preserve a good conscience, a free and natural mind, and a clean hand. But nowhere must this internal falseness of all conditions have been more appreciable than at the centre of culture, in Alexandria. Is it then surprising that just there, in Lower Egypt, hermit life, monasticism, took its rise? The Egyptians had had the longest and richest history of any of the peoples known to history. Although under the rule of foreigners and beneath the sword of the conqueror, Egypt was still the land of labor, and its capital remained the high school of learning. But now the hour of the nation was come. At this juncture monasticism took its rise as a mighty movement; only a little later, and we find it on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean and on the banks of the Euphrates. In very recent times some have sought to explain its rise from specific heathen influences exerted upon Christianity in Egypt,

but in so doing the method of procedure has not been sufficiently cautious, though our thanks are due to those who have brought to light older and analogous phenomena in the Egyptian religion. External influences however, were not stronger there in the matter of Christian life and thought, in fact they were apparently weaker than anywhere else. At every point in its development even Christian mankind has blinked its ideal of life, and has proclaimed that as the highest which its necessity has prescribed. Here social, political, and religious necessity coincided with a Christian ideal which had been long established, and which soon passed current as apostolic.

[The conditions, and consequently the preparatory steps, were very various which preceded the development of monasticism. Even if it was pre-eminently an ascetic impulse, borne in upon the church from heathen sources, which sought to set the spirit free from its many tyrants, to overcome both coarse and refined egotism and to lead the needy soul to God, nevertheless an ascetic ideal also entered into the matter, an ideal which was more opposed than allied to that impulse. In the Alexandrian catechetical school, which in the third century was the principal school of Christian

theology, the basal thoughts of the systems of the Greek moralists since Socrates, were taken up and elaborated. The Socratic motto, "know thyself," had long since been transformed into manifold rules for the art of right living. Most of these rules directed the truly "wise" away from activity in the services of daily life and from "troublesome appearance in public." They asserted that for the spirit there "can be nothing more fitting and appropriate than care for itself, since it does not look toward that which is external, does not occupy itself with foreign matters, but turned inwardly within itself it gives back its own essence to itself and thus practices righteousness." It was thus taught that the wise man, who had need of nothing further, stands nearest to deity, because, in the possession of his rich personality and in quiet contemplation of the world, he is a participant in the highest good ; and it was further taught that the spirit which has freed itself from the sensuous and lives in constant contemplation of eternal verities, at last will be deemed worthy of beholding the invisible and will be deified.) It was this very flight from the world which ecclesiastical philosophers, especially Origen, inculcated. One only needs to read the eulogy of Gregory

Thaumaturgus upon his great teacher, to recognize the source of the principles of that life retired from the world, for which Gregory is renowned. No one can deny that this species of flight from the world implied a specific secularization of Christianity, and that the self-sufficient sage is almost the opposite of the poor in spirit. But it cannot fail of recognition that both notions assumed, in the concrete, a manifold variety of forms and that in this variety the one could pass over into the other. And in this sense Origen himself is to be classed with the actual ancestors of Christian monasticism. It is not the fact that he simply gave actual expression to the stoic or neoplatonic ideal in his ethical system, or that he actualized the same in his life ; but it is rather the fact that all the right lines of previous ethical systems, also the Christian, met in him as in a common point. The position of Egyptian theologians in the world's history is just this : they all, precursors or disciples of Origen, united and placed under the sanction of revelation the manifold products of previous forms of knowledge, not only as these were related to dogmatic theology but also as they embraced practical rules in the matter of the discipline of Christian life. Consequently they became

the ancestors of all the parties in the Greek church which appeared later and engaged in conflict. Just as it is possible with equal right to quote Origen in support of Arianism and in support of orthodoxy, so with the same right he can be made responsible for a special secularization of the theology of the church as well as for the monkish inclinations, first of the clergy and later of the laity as well. He was the self-same man who assumed as desirable the lasting concord of Christianity with the state on earth, and who wished to see in the shadow of universal peace the cloistered cell of the pious and learned monk who was withdrawn entirely within himself. If any, however, was not pious or was *not learned*, such an one had nevertheless in his faith an object of contemplation inexhaustible in its contents. Hence the demand applies in truth to all Christians. But actually it took nearly two generations for these thoughts to become dominant in a Christianity which was continually becoming more inert; with the masses they never became the most dominant considerations. Few were the societies of monks such as were formed by Hierax, the pupil of Origen, upon the plan laid down by Origen. Want and disgust with the ordinary modes of life started the

movement in its initial stages, and the church of Constantine drove forth into solitude and into the desert all such as wished to live in accord with their religion.

At the close of the fourth decade of the fourth century the monastic movement had already become strong. Hermits must have existed by thousands. The beginnings of monasticism proper, like the beginnings of every great historical phenomenon, are enshrouded in myth, so that it is no longer possible to distinguish truth from fiction. Legend alone has preserved the memory of its ostensible founders. Two things we do know, however, and these suffice for a knowledge of the movement in general and for a correct judgment concerning it. We know the original ideal, and we are able to estimate what was included in its world-flight. The original ideal was to attain participation in the pure contemplation of God: the means was absolute renunciation of all the goods of life, yea, even of churchly fellowship. Flight was not simply from the world in every sense of the word, but also from the world-church. Not as though her doctrines were considered insufficient, her regulations inappropriate, or her dispensation of grace unimportant, but her very terri-

tory was considered dangerous, and men did not question their ability to retrieve all her sacramental benefits by means of asceticism and constant contemplation of that which was holy.

And the world-church itself, how was she disposed toward this movement? Did she allow her members to emancipate themselves from her direct guidance and to enter upon a way of securing salvation over which she had not the oversight? Did she suffer her sons to cause the shadow of suspicion to fall upon her ordinances regarding life, even if they refrained from attacking them? Never for an instant did she hesitate; she could not. She did the only thing that was left for her protection; she specifically approved of the movement and moreover she gave her testimony that thereby the prototype of the Christian life was actualized.] The necessity of losing one's self in the turmoil of existence, disgust with the emptiness of ordinary life, the prospect of a lofty good to be gained, had driven men forth. Out of this necessity the church made in very truth a virtue. She could not do otherwise, for she had herself preached only the more loudly and emphatically the very things which monasticism accomplished,

the more she herself had become entangled with the world, state and culture.

[It is one of the most striking occurrences in history that the church, exactly at the time when she was developing more and more into a legal institution and a sacramental establishment, outlined a Christian life-ideal which was incapable of realization within her bounds, but only alongside of her. The more she affiliated herself with the world, the higher and more superhuman did she make her ideal.] She herself taught that the loftiest purpose of the Gospel is the contemplation of God, and yet even she knew of no surer means there-to than flight from the world. [Meantime this line of thought presented itself within the church merely as a disproportioned complement of the lowered moral standard of Christianity to which she had surrendered herself. If her actual purpose was to make everything subservient to her few moral rules and her forms of worship, nevertheless her own theology reacted in the other direction. Monasticism did not allow itself to be satisfied simply with "theology," but acted in downright earnest in accordance with the thought that Christianity is a *religion* and that it demands the consecration of the life by the

individual. But it is a proof of the extraordinary power with which the church had already established herself in the minds of men, that monasticism, when it appeared, no longer ventured, as the Montanists had done, to criticise the church and to denominate her course as misleading. When one considers what enthusiasm, what fanaticism was quickly developed in the colonies of monks, one can only be astonished that the attacks upon the church were so infrequent and so ineffectual, or that they were well-nigh absent. Scarcely a single person demanded a reform of the Christian system in all its parts. The movement might have resulted in a revolution in the world-church, but in reality it did not disturb her course. Assuredly, a deep distrust was aroused against the ecclesiastical office : how many fled when it was proposed to impose it upon them ! but reverence for it did not disappear, only its dangers were feared. To be sure, here and there discord appeared between cleric and monk ; *persons* indeed were despised, but nothing else.]

Let us, however, not anticipate. Thousands had gone forth and other thousands were lured on by the call of sanctity, by disgust with the world, and by disinclina-

tion to toil. Of motives urging to the life of the monk there were many, especially since the establishment of the Christian state-church, and since martyrdom no longer awaited true or artificial enthusiasm. As early as the middle of the fourth century there was a motley company in the solitudes. Some had gone forth in order to do actual penance and to become saints; others, to pass for such. Some fled away from society and its degrading vices, others from active occupation and toil. Some possessed simplicity of heart and unyielding will, others were sick of the stir of life. Yonder it was the ruling desire to become rich in knowledge and true joy and to live in the silent and spiritual enjoyment of "philosophy ;" here it was the purpose to achieve poverty, bodily and spiritual, and to show despite for reason and knowledge. Striking confessions have come down to us; but complaints concerning the temptations of the world and the assaults of sensuality sound forth more loudly than those relating to the selfishness of the heart. And alongside of the silent penitent the untrained fanatic soon appeared. Lack of training called for restraint; dissensions demanded an organization, which early appeared. Men united themselves in com-

munal life. We find two forms of association: colonies of hermits, and actual monasteries. [Rules were established, some of them very strict. They reveal not only the earnestness of asceticism but as well the serious transgressions which called for punishment. In this connection there was awakened here and there a fanaticism which overstrode all measure. Very early we find fanatics quite similar to the howling dervishes of whom Eastern travellers tell us even to-day. But among the genuine monks important differences are visible as early as the fourth century. The fundamental regulations, indeed, were the same for all: life with God alone, poverty, chastity, and in addition, in the case of those who dwelt in monasteries, obedience. Yet how different were the actual forms which they assumed! Allow the mention of a single illustration. Some, full of thankfulness at having escaped from a misshapen and untrue culture, discovered something which they had never known—nature. They became acquainted with her, sought out her beauties and praised them. We have descriptions of nature written by hermits of the fourth century, such as antiquity seldom produced. Like happy children, their desire was to dwell with their God in his garden. In

the garden they discovered the tree of knowledge, and so the solitude became to them a paradise, labor lost its curse, since to know was bliss. But the rest—they understood asceticism otherwise. Not only culture but nature itself is to be escaped; not only social regulations, but also man. Everything that can give occasion to sin—and what cannot?—is to be done away; all joy, all knowledge, all distinctions of human rank. What was the consequence? One starved himself almost to the point of death, another wandered about like the wild beast of the desert, a third betook himself to the swamps of the Nile and let insects inflict torture upon him, a fourth, half-naked and exposed to wind and weather, spent silent years on the top of a pillar. Thus the flesh was to be mortified and crucified; thus peace of soul in the contemplation of God was to be extorted:—be pure and keep silence. But they were compelled to admit that the sense of peace came to them only seldom and for minutes at a time. Instead there came frightful fancies which took upon themselves the forms of concrete realities. Nevertheless the contemporaries of these men received them eagerly. The world was growing old and was enraptured by

this refinement of renunciation. That which men had neither the will nor the courage to perform themselves, they wished to enjoy as in a play. Story-tellers in the garb of monks wove romances and tales out of the actual or imagined experiences of silent penitents. A new literature of a singular character began to exist, monkish belles-lettres, and centuries have been edified thereby. This was also one way in which the world-church acknowledged the deeds of that dreadful heroism which her own neglect called forth ever anew.

Which of these two sorts of monasticism in the Græco-Christian domain, here sketched in outline, has logical consistency on its side? Which ideal, under the historico-religious circumstances, was authentic? Was it that of the brethren who found their joy in nature and with God, who lived in quiet isolation devoted to the knowledge of God and the world, or was it that of those heroic penitents? It is not simply a cheap striving after consistency, when it is declared to be only the latter. In reference to the first, attention should be called at the outset to the connection in which it stood to the ancient ideal as to the wise. But even that is not sufficient. Let us transport ourselves into the historical en-

vironment. [The highest ideal, so ran the universal view of the time, can only be realized outside of the world, outside of every vocation ; it lies enclosed in asceticism itself. To be sure, this is a means to an end, but it is also an end in itself, since it contains the assurance that the penitent shall attain to the vision of God. If these principles are correct, then everything is but half-done unless the struggle goes to its utmost extreme ; then must not only refinement be set aside as something incomplete and disturbing, but also nature, human love and finally all customary action ; then is it worth while to make the grandiose attempt to free one's self from the field of nature, culture, and even from the world of moral beings, in order, after this manner, to fashion within one's self the purely religious man.] Herein we have touched the peculiar secret and, as well, the limit of the ancient Greek conception of Christianity. Before the world-church itself there hovered as the highest ideal a religious life, which led men here on earth out beyond all the conditionings of their existence, even beyond those that were moral. Not that these were indifferent, nor that their opposites were correct. No. But Christianity had hitherto been unable to inaugurate a

new moral life in the community, and the moral standard of the ancient life had passed out of vogue; either essentially useless or no longer existent. It was only logical that the more earnest ones, who were not at all reformers, apprehended the moral regulations, confused as they were, as actual limitations—limitations which at bottom were no better than the primary conditionings of human existence. | Therefore a Christian ideal was outlined which was ostensibly to be purely religious—I might say, “super-ethical.” Christian faith was not to come to its true right by means of a life of activity directed by ethical purpose, but by means of the negation of all that is human, that is, by the extremest asceticism.) Thus future participation in the divine nature is to be anticipated. Such is the high flight of Greek Christianity even today, so far as it has not become petrified or turned into some other channel by accidental influences—one cannot withhold one’s sympathies, when one considers the low level of Christian morality above which, in the absence of any other, it attempts to raise itself—but just as it is a flight into endlessness, so it is a flight into sheer emptiness. For what do we now perceive? } On the one side is a world-church,

subject to the state, and bound almost to the point of identity, to nationality; in essence an institution of worship with but scantiest influence on the ethical life of its members, and no longer performing its proper functions. On the other side is a monasticism without historical aims and consequently without historical development. With the exception of a few new features which possibly have promise for the future, it is to-day essentially the same that it was at the time of the earliest Byzantine emperors. In fact the external rules have scarcely altered. Of course those extremists, the pillar-saints, have not continued—such forms cannot last—but that for which they stood has prevailed and their principles have lasted, since even now the extremest asceticism is regarded as the best. But their influence is seen especially in the fact that Greek monasticism has seldom been able to apply itself to useful labor in the service of the church and of humanity. Greek monks, though of course there are worthy exceptions, still live to-day as they did a thousand years ago “in quiet contemplation and in blissful ignorance.” Only just so much work is performed as is necessary for the preservation of life. It must also be the case that the

unlearned monk should be ever a silent reproach to the learned, the abhorer of nature to him whose love is for nature, and the laboring monk must be conscience-smitten whenever he looks upon the brother who labors not, thinks not, speaks not, but awaits in solitary contemplation and self-torture, the blissful effulgence of God which is to appear to him at last. And, as in the fifth century, the cleft still exists between the brethren of the cloister and the secular clergy.] To be sure, the higher clerics are chosen from the cloister—monasticism has been able to exhibit even emperor and court in detestable colors for a time or perhaps lastingly—but that does not alter their relations. Monasticism stands alongside of the church, not inside, and it cannot be otherwise; for what service is it to render to a church which refuses to perform any of her own peculiar obligations? The only thing in which it takes a lively part is the interest in church-worship: it paints saints, and perhaps paints books. But it is at liberty to emancipate itself even from worship, for the church not only countenances the hermit who absents himself for long years from her communion, she admires him. She must admire him, for he attains the ideal which she herself cannot attain:

her ideal, or if I may so say, her higher ideal, for now she has developed a double ideal—one of asceticism, and one of worship. He, to whom neither the gift nor the strength has been vouchsafed to reach communion with God by means of asceticism, can attain this communion in divine service, by becoming filled with holy mysteries. Worship ensures the enjoyment of salvation when one participates piously and fulfils one's churchly duties. This theory monasticism did not attack, but supported it rather, since, indeed, it acted indirectly to the advantage of monasticism.

[At times monasticism has drawn near to the world-church which has in turn attempted to take it into her service. Occasionally the attempt has succeeded. The great ecclesiastical synods of the fifth to the seventh centuries have something to tell in this direction. The dogmatic theology which there prevailed sprang in part from monkish fancy and was defended by arguments of monks and by monks' fists. But the bishops became more cautious and avoided arousing the fanaticism of the monks, for on every occasion when those who had fled from the world took a hand in the strife of parties, there followed directly revolution, war and death. There-

fore they were ignored when, after having exposed the emperors who pretended to monkish sympathies, they soon overturned the ideals of despotic rulers bent on reform. Indeed there was nothing else to be done. Since the close of the ninth century they have scarcely played a part in history at all.] On account of their very victory they became a conservative force even over against both world and world-church. Strange! those who fled the world, now by their very passiveness, conserve both cultus and national custom. Their fanaticism is aroused when these are attacked. Herein monasticism is conscious of its bond of union with the masses. In other respects monasticism and the world-church move along side by side, or rather, where the former reaches forth its hand to the latter, it places itself likewise unconditionally at the service of the state. The monk-bishop was in the Byzantine empire, as he is still in the Turkish empire (although gradual improvements are unmistakable), a beadle, perhaps even a tax gatherer, on behalf of the state. By reason of this alliance he plunders the Christian population, enjoying the honors of high office, but sharing also in its corruption and uncertain fate. Thus was the lofty flight of the ideal avenged.

It was proposed by means of faith to annul all natural conditions, it was presumptuously attempted to abandon even moral possessions—and with broken strength the movement fell to the ground. A church subject to the state and secularized ; a monasticism characterized by fruitless asceticism and without a history, a stiff-necked defender of national and ecclesiastical failings—such was the result. (The Greek church maintains as the poles of her system, asceticism and the performance of the duties of church and worship. Her proper sphere, the daily life which is to be regulated by faith, lies outside her direct range of vision.) That is left to the state and to nationality: for is it not of the world? These (state and nationality) have had small difficulty in this way in gradually seizing upon the whole church and in reducing her to a means for the accomplishment of their own ends. Precisely because the *ideal* of monasticism and of the world-church were victorious in the eighth and ninth centuries in the conflict with the civil state, therefore monasticism and the church *actually and finally*, yielded subjection to the state. In the flight from the *sensuous*, the state overtook the church, forced upon her its conception of morality, but adopted

her ceremonial. The Byzantine state thus shows itself to be now only a modification of the old. But one thing was attained, that wherever the state established Christian conceptions as authoritative in public law or in public life, they were couched in monkish phrase. The Byzantine law-book (and even our social-moral views have not yet been freed from its severities) is in part an odd mixture of Roman, pitiless, shrewdness and of monkish condemnation of the world. { Such is the history of monasticism in the East. Let it however be remembered that even to-day it is the complement of the secularized church, that even to-day it rescues individuals from out the vulgar throng, conceals saints within itself and arraigns the dreariness of churchdom. But its history teaches that in the graded array of human ideals based upon the Gospel, the ideal of contemplation and of world-flight for the saving of the soul, cannot be final and supreme ; that the bravery which simply *suffers* finally succumbs ; that the world sets up its own ideals in the church if the Christian undertakes to realize his ideal apart from the world. But there may indeed be times when the measure of unrighteousness which falls upon those who are actively employed, becomes unbearably

great, and there always will be individuals who are so delicately strung that in order to preserve their best part they must betake themselves into solitude ; but where poverty is blazoned forth as the highest pitch of virtue, there the things most truly valuable lose their worth, and finally the very prize is forfeited for the sake of which they were relinquished.)

II.

How utterly different was the course of the development of monasticism in the West ! A glance at its history suffices to discover at once the essential differences. First, Western monasticism had a real history, and, secondly, it *made* history, both ecclesiastical and secular. It did not simply take its place alongside of the church, and spend itself in silent asceticism and mystic speculation—no; it stood in the midst, within the church, and, alongside of the papacy, it was in all departments the moving factor of occidental Catholic church history. It is possible to describe Oriental monasticism from the fourth century to the present time without mentioning *a single* name ; it produced little of individuality. The history of occidental monasticism, on the contrary, is a history of persons and of characters.

Roman Catholicism presents in its development a continuous chain of living reforms, and each of these reforms was conditioned by a new stage in the development of monasticism. The founding of the Benedictine orders in the sixth century, the Cluniac reforms of the church in the eleventh, the appearance of the Mendicant orders in the thirteenth, and the founding of the Society of Jesus in the sixteenth; these are the four great stadia in the history of occidental monasticism, and they are at the same time stadia in the history of occidental Catholicism. It was always monasticism that rescued the church when sinking, freed her when secularized, defended her when attacked. It warmed hearts that were growing cold, restrained unruly spirits, won back the people when alienated from the church. This allusion alone is sufficient to show that in monasticism in the West we have to do with a prime factor in church and civilization. How did it attain to this position?

Monasticism forced its way from East to West comparatively late and slowly, for neither nature nor mental environment were there favorable. Whereas it was widely scattered in the East as early as the middle of the fourth century, and, as we may safely

assume, had originated in many regions entirely apart from Egyptian influences, it was not till the close of the century that it gained a firm footing in the West, and indeed it was even then imported from the East. In the occident its first admirers were those theologians, like Jerome, who had journeyed in Egypt and Syria and who stood in closest relations with the "Greeks." Monasteries began to flourish, especially in southern Gaul, but under Oriental influence. From the very first, monasticism found decided opposition in the church of the West, whereas in the East we are aware of this feeling only to a small extent. One must read the writings of Sulpicius Severus (circa 400 A.D.) in order to perceive what the opposition was against which monasticism had to contend. A little more and the secularized bishops would have treated the monks like the Manicheans. Nevertheless the opposition soon died out, and even in the West the ordinary view came into accord with the monastic, and the name of that upright saint, Martin of Tours, once vilified, was highly exalted. Even before the great Augustine took ground in favor of the new life, it had gained right of domicile ; amid the storms which accompanied the migrations of races it planted itself

firmly. The monastic ideal was primarily the same both East and West so far as its outlines were concerned, and so it remained through a thousand years: the sinking of one's being in God, and strict asceticism. It was especially virginity which here passed as the most valued pre-requisite of a life consecrated to God; to many it appeared to be pre-eminently the quintessence of Christian morality. Egyptian anchorites were always regarded in the West as the fathers and types of true Christian living—in fact it was not possible to eclipse their deeds by those of St. Martin—and tales concerning them performed their silent mission during many generations in Italy, Gaul, Germany, and, indeed, beyond the Channel, in England and upon the Emerald Isle. But even in the fifth century the factors were present which were to give to the monasticism of the West an entirely different character, *a history*. In passing, it is only necessary to remark that climatic conditions in the West necessitated in part a manner of life different from that of the Orient—"edacitas in Græcis gula est, in Gallis natura" was the observation of one of the oldest patrons of occidental monasticism. But apart from this, since the days of Tertullian, since the end of the second

century, the internal development of Christianity in the West had taken a different direction from that of the East. Not only did practical religious questions, such as those concerning penance, forgiveness of sin and the nature of the church, occupy the foreground; but the ancient hopes touching the glorious earthly dominion of Christ were not so quickly surrendered to the colorless theological speculation of the Orient. Men took part in this last only from afar. In the so-called chiliastic notions the occidental church kept in view that which the church of Christ should become, and these notions were necessarily the more enhanced in value in the degree that, in opposition to the Montanists, the "fantastic" was eliminated and the prospect of a speedy fulfilment of their hopes grew dim. Even Western monasticism in contradistinction from the Eastern, preserved an apocalyptic chiliastic element, which to be sure often remained long time latent, but which ever reappeared at critical times. St. Augustine combined the churchly tendencies of occidental Christianity in a new Christian view of the world and of life. The grace of God for righteousness present in the church, and the church itself, are his central ideas. The church in the first place as a communion of

believers, and afterward also as a visible institution, is the kingdom of righteousness and of moral good—the kingdom of God. With the decay of the ancient state and the appearance of semi-pagan states, he sketched the noble plan of a future history of the church. It was her office to furnish mankind with powers of goodness, with true righteousness; as the visible manifestation of the kingdom of God it was hers to become serviceable to the kingdoms of the world and to the civil state, to guide and educate nations. Christianity only attains its true function where it creates an empire of moral good upon earth, a supermundane human brotherhood based on love. Therefore it only attains its true function where it bears rule, but it can bear rule only in so far as the holy Catholic church bears rule. Spiritual rule over the world, a theocracy of righteousness on earth, is therefore a Christian ideal, an ideal for the individual and for the church as a whole. The old apocalyptic views, the practical tendencies of the West as well as Greek speculation were placed in an unwonted combination by Augustine. They were not indeed to be mutually corrective, but coterminous. Christian salvation appears at once in a twofold shape: it is the eter-

nal, happy contemplation of God in this world as well as in the next; but in the former it is at the same time a world-ruling empire of divine gifts and of moral powers.

? These principles sound differently from the tollsomenly formed dogmas of Greek Christian speculation. They assign to the church an independent task, alongside of and for the state. She was to serve both God and the world. This task was a problem which demanded solution and was worthy of it. The Greek ideal presents itself as a problem simply because its actualization is only approximately possible; of itself it is simple. But in connection with that other conception every undertaking becomes a question which one only learns to estimate as one begins to work it out. Each particular point in the entirety of the Christian view, however definitely it might be apprehended, revealed its nature and was assigned its true value only when brought into relation with the other things in the midst of which it had to be placed. How is the service of the world related to the service of God? in what relation is the moral to be placed as regards the religious? The discovery was made anew that already there are things truly good in the world, that all is good which proceeds

from the hand of God, and that man finds his happiness only in the surrender of his *will* to God. In this surrender of the heart and will through faith and love, which only the divine grace dispensed in the sacraments effects, man becomes right-minded and attains freedom and righteousness, that is, moral perfection. This perfection is a highest good, but nevertheless not *the* highest. For the prospect is still valid that man when lifted up to God, is to enjoy a felicity whose character and value cannot be plainly measured in advance in terms of any experience of the present life. It consists in seeing God, yea, in being like God. But how is this religious goal related to the moral goal of a perfected righteousness in the kingdom of God in the present? One can *assert* that the latter is subordinate to the former and nevertheless practically *act* very differently. This appears to have been the case with Augustine, and the church, in its march toward universal dominion, followed him. As she began to identify herself with the kingdom of Christ, she became increasingly solicitous concerning her own preservation and domination, and she taught the people that in her they were to seek and find their *highest* benefits. In the consciousness that

she alone administered and conferred the divine grace which makes for righteousness, she was no longer able consistently to tolerate any one who in his own way proposed to find felicity through acts of virtue and asceticism. In the interest of this sole efficient grace of God, an interest which coincided with that of the church, she decided, as early as the fifth century, the value, for Catholic Christians, of an asceticism not under the guardianship of the church. But in this matter she was never without some degree of vacillation, since it had never been denied that the church did not guarantee felicity, and that at the last each individual must stand before his God without the protection of the church. [To this hesitation as to how far each individual Christian is to be left independent—a question which must ever be of prime importance to the position of monasticism in the occidental church—there corresponded an uncertainty as to the estimate to be placed upon civil ordinances and all political forms.] The church is the kingdom of righteousness and love; outside of her there is only injustice and hate. [What then is the position occupied by civil states?] Do they and their ordinances possess special value of their own on ac-

count of their independence, or can they acquire it only through subjection to the church, or, finally, can they never by any means attain thereto? Is the church to rule alongside of the state or above and in the state according to its forms of law, or shall she rule alone, making all confederation unnecessary? It is true that these questions were not yet clearly formulated, nevertheless men lived under their influence. The history of western Catholicism is the history of these ideas until they were put in practice by the great popes of the Middle Age in the form of a universal dominion of the church.

But how was monasticism to accommodate itself to these conceptions? The answer is not difficult. It must either make the attempt to come to an understanding with the church and, in Greek fashion, outside the church, restrict its function to simple preparation for the future life, or on the other hand it must allow its asceticism to be restricted by the higher purpose of co-operation in the great task of transforming mankind by means of the Gospel and of erecting in the church the kingdom of Christ on earth. The former possibility did not cease to exist, but the latter came as an addition. Occidental monasticism

assumed its part in the accomplishment of the church's task. But since it was not willing to sacrifice its original ideal of the contemplative life, its ideals themselves presented problems for solution, and since it assumed a part in the accomplishment of the purposes of the church without being always able to go to the same lengths, it experienced a peculiar history. Let us seek briefly to form a conception of the stages of that history.

III.

The first new step in the development of monasticism was taken in Italy in the sixth century. It was St. Benedict of Nursia who formulated the new monastic rule and prepared monasticism for subordinated activity and profitable labor. It had first to be reorganized before it could play an active part. To be sure, Benedict's monastic rule was by no means new, so far as its contents were concerned. At the beginning of the sixth century the forms of "monasticism" in the West were exceedingly various, and, in part, very open to suspicion. The service rendered by Benedict consisted in the *reduction* of these forms to the one most suitable, and the success which he scored was only exceed-

ed by the service which he rendered. The following items are especially noteworthy: the strict obedience to which the monks were obligated, the orderly association, the opposition to wandering and idle monks, the exact regulation of daily life and the stern duty of labor, primarily that of agriculture. Demands touching obedience and labor are met, indeed, in the rules of the Orient, and, while in the new arrangement they did not immediately occupy first place, in subsequent times they grew to be more important than all the others. And what changes they produced! Out of monkish colonies that were rough and in part scattered and confused, there grew up orderly alliances possessed of a power for work which was compelled to seek a field for its activity. That great bishop in the chair of Peter, Gregory I., who was himself heart and soul a monk, took this new power into his service and used it for the church. It may be mentioned that the Ostrogothic minister, Cassiodorus, had previously introduced scientific occupations into the monastic scheme and himself had begun to compose theological and historical manuals for use in the monasteries, to one of which he had retired when weary of long life. After the seventh century we meet

members of the order of St. Benedict widely scattered in the West. They made woodlands arable, they turned waste places into fruitful fields, with good or bad conscience they studied the songs of heathen poets and the writings of historians and philosophers. Monasteries and monastery schools blossomed forth and each settlement became a centre of religious life as well as of education. With the assistance of these bands the Roman bishop was able to propagate or to preserve Christianity and a part of the ancient culture in the West ; by their aid he made the new German states Romano-German. The Roman bishop did this—for neither did Benedict contemplate such an occupation for the order, nor did it proceed spontaneously from his rule, nor was it consciously proposed by his disciples as a task. Rather, at this initial stage we see monasticism entirely in the service and under the direction of the great Roman bishops and Roman legates, such as St. Boniface. It was only on account of its subjection to the church-idea which proceeded from Rome, that the order succeeded (the most important event of the period) in Romanizing the Frankish church, which, from the beginning had been allied with the state, and in suppress-

ing all those monasteries that were not governed by the rule of Benedict. "The impartation and the free influence of its spiritual possession lay outside of the purpose of the order, although many of the brothers were active in missionary labors with eminent success, although many others were disseminating learning outside of the monasteries, and although some had taken pity upon the poor people, teaching them by means of the written and oral word in their own language, exhorting them, causing them to tremble, and comforting them."

Meanwhile—and this phenomenon repeated itself again and again in the history of the West—the more monasticism allowed itself to be made use of by the church, taking part in its tasks, the more did it secularize itself and become an institution of the church. Of this those earnest monks who had consecrated their lives to God alone, must have been most conscious. Nothing was left for them to do except either to renounce their mission to the world and to retire to the strictest asceticism, or else to preach the most incisive reforms of the order itself in order afterward to seek to reorganize the secularized episcopal clergy. But it was characteristic of

the West that the monks who chose the former course and returned to Greek asceticism with most determination and disregard of consequences, were not permanently satisfied thereby, but after a longer or shorter time, of their own accord recurred to the notion of a reform of the order or returned to the world-church. This was especially the case with Benedict of Aniane. Still, the attempts at reform made in the eighth and ninth centuries were fruitless. The monasteries came more and more into a position of dependence not only upon the bishops of the church, but also upon the landed gentry. The abbots became ever increasingly what they had long been, eminent at court, and soon it came to pass that monks and clerics were simply differentiated by their ceremonial. In the tenth century monasticism appeared to have almost finished the playing of its part in the West; it appeared—with the exception of some monasteries, especially nunneries—to have been destroyed by a danger which was impossible in the same way in the East. It had become the very world itself, common world, not elevated above it by even a hair's breadth. Papacy, church, monasticism, appeared in the tenth century equally degenerate.

But nevertheless a second movement had already begun in the church, a second rehabilitation of monasticism. This time it proceeded from France. The monastery of Clugny, founded in the tenth century, was the scene of the great reform of the church which the West experienced in the eleventh century. It was undertaken by monks who, on account of their opposition to the secularized papacy, were at first supported by pious and far-sighted princes and bishops, until Hildebrand seized upon them, and, as cardinal and successor of Peter, set them against the princes and the secularized clergy. What the West thus received was an actual reformation, only it was catholic, not evangelical. What were the objects of this new movement? Primarily it had in view a re-establishment of the old discipline, of true world renunciation and of piety within the monasteries, and, consequently, in the first place, a monastic regulation of the whole body of the clergy, and second, the dominion of the clergy thus regulated, over the laity, princes and nations. The great reform of the monks of Clugny and of their powerful pope presents itself first as a successful attempt to regulate the life of the entire clergy according to monastic rules. Therein occidental

monasticism for the first time asserted its right to make itself effective as *the* Christian rule of life for all adult believers and to enforce recognition of this claim. Therefore monasticism in its course in the West was ever brought into conflict with the world-church, since it could not cease to make demands upon Christendom as a whole while serving the church. The Christian freedom for which it strove was, in spite of all its wavering, not only a freedom of the individual from the world, but also the freedom of Christianity to serve God in the world. We evangelicals are able even to-day to judge sympathetically of that great attempt, for in it there came to open expression the consciousness that inside the church there can be but *one* ideal of life and only *one* morality; that consequently all adult Christians are obligated thereby. If monasticism is really the highest form of Christianity, it has the right to discipline its adult confessors according to the monastic rule, and from the non-adult—and these were the laity according to mediæval conception—at least to require obedience. These thoughts ruled Clugny and its great pope. Hence arose the strict enforcement of celibacy among the clergy, hence originated the opposition

to the secularization of the clergy and especially to simony, hence came the monastic discipline of the priests. And political dominion? One might from this standpoint regard it as a substitute so long as and because the true christianizing of the whole was not accomplished. But at this point began the differences between monasticism and the reformed world-church. The ideas of Gregory and his earnest friends can be so represented that they appear to differ only by a shade, and yet this shade of difference led to schemes which were mutually opposed. At the very first it was said even by the absolute reverers of the pope, that reform of manners and fostering of piety are sufficient; that it is not the function of the church to rule after the fashion and with the equipment of the state. They demanded actual return to the apostolic life, the re-establishment of the original form of the church. It is not correct to regard these efforts of monasticism as though they indicated a movement backward toward the position of the Greek Church and consequently fell outside of the framework of occidental Catholicism. No, these monks had a positive plan before their eyes: a *Christian life of entire Christendom*. But there was hovering in their minds an

idea, derived from old tradition, of a new and regal form of Christendom which they did not hesitate to actualize on earth, and on account of it they conceived a deep and almost insuperable mistrust against the substitute which the Roman bishop offered and sought to establish. In this mistrust was included an aversion to everything in the church which called to mind civil and legal ordinances. This repugnance to public codes and to the state was characteristic of occidental monasticism, and it is equally obvious why the same repugnance was lacking in the Greek ascetics. But in the eleventh century the feeling of devotion toward the church and those who were in control was too strong to allow of conflicts between the reformed clergy and monasticism. In the sacrament of penance the church possessed a most efficient instrument for attaching even monasticism to itself. With sullied conscience and with broken spirit many bowed to the purposes of the great monk-pope. And those whom he summoned from the quiet of the monastery were the very ones who would have most preferred to consecrate their lives entirely to God. He was well aware that only *that* monk who flees from the world and wishes to be freed from it, can be of

service in subduing the world. World-flight in the service of a world-ruling church! That was the astonishing performance which Gregory accomplished for a century and a half. Nevertheless, the aim which he and the reformed bishops had, notwithstanding their political activity, was really spiritual. Only in this capacity did they succeed in changing the temper of the masses and in inflaming them, inflaming them to war against the secular clergy of upper Italy, and against the simoniacal princes in all Europe. A new enthusiasm of a religious character influenced the peoples of the West, especially the Romanic. The spirit of the Crusades was the immediate fruit of the monastic movement of reform in the eleventh century. The religious awakening which Europe experienced is seen in them in its vital shape. The supremacy of the church must be accomplished upon earth. The ideas of the world-ruling monk of Clugny were the influences which preceded the Crusaders. And from the Holy Land, from its sacred places, the Crusaders brought back a form of Christian piety which was new, or at least heretofore seldom practised; self-absorption in the sufferings of Christ and in his path of pain.

Negative asceticism acquired a new, a positive form, and a new, a positive aim ; Union with the Redeemer in warm affection and in complete imitation. A personal element, working from heart to heart, began to give new life to the unattractive and purposeless endeavors of self-renunciation, and to awaken a slumbering subjectivity. Even to monasticism it gave a new inner upward impulse, though it was confined at first to a few individuals. The large number of new orders that were founded contemporaneously, especially in France, gave evidence of this general impulse. It was then that the orders of the Carthusians, the Cistercians, the Premonstrants, the Carmelites, and many others took their rise. But the appearance of so many of them only proves that monasticism continued to lose its identity when it entered into union with the world-church. Each new order sought to restore monasticism to its former strictness, and to dis sever it from secularization ; but since each subjected itself to the sway of the world-church, each was quickly taken possession of and employed to its full extent. It is a proof of the illusions in which men moved, that the orders which were instituted for the restoration of pris-

tine monasticism, at the very time of their founding specifically adopted in their plans the principle of subjection to the bishops, and abandoned the performance of their peculiar tasks, such as the cure of souls, inside of and for the church. In the twelfth century the adherence of Christendom and also of monasticism to the church was still entirely naïve ; the contradiction between the actual form of the world-ruling church and the Gospel which she proclaimed, was indeed perceived, but it was as constantly forced into the background, and criticism of the claims and polity of the church was still without effect. It is only necessary to name *one* man, Bernard of Clairvaux, in order to indicate, as in a picture, the full extent of that which was accomplished by this second monastic reform of the church, and at the same time to see its limitations and illusions. The same monk who in the stillness of his monastery cell spoke a new language of devotion, consecrated his soul completely to the "bridegroom," proclaimed the world-flight of Christianity, and warned the pope that he had been called to the chair of Peter for service not for dominion, was nevertheless at the same time hemmed in by all the hierarchical prejudices of his

time and himself directed the policy of the world-ruling church. But it was only because monasticism took the same path as the church that it was able to accomplish so much for the church in that age. It called forth a reform of the church, but this reform issued finally in the confirmation of the worldly power of the church, and consequently in her secularization. Such was the striking, yet intelligible outcome. The domain in which the world-church and monasticism ever again and again came into touch, was in their mutual opposition to the demands upon the church made by the laity and especially by the princes. Thus monasticism in the West conceived "freedom from the world," and consequently it placed itself at the service of the church in the struggle. Only as this is noted can one understand how the same man at that time could be at once both genuine monk and clerical prince, how he could deceive himself or others, or even remain in uncertainty as to the ultimate purposes of that opposition to the state.

A new period was approaching for which the old notions were no longer adequate. The church had come to political dominion, had vanquished the empire and the old state

ordinances, or was at least near to victory. The aims and results of the enormous exertions of the church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries had become manifest. But now a movement began in the lay world and in the midst of the nations. They aspired to free themselves from their hierarchical guardianship. The new period was announced by social movements, by religious divisions, by pious associations which no longer found satisfaction in the piety of the offices, by the demand of nations and princes for the right to order their own concerns. For a whole century the world-church was able to restrain its force. A new appearance in monasticism gave aid in this effort. It was marked by the founding of the mendicant orders.

The form of the most loving and lovable of all monks, the wonderful saint of Assisi, sheds forth a brilliant light from the midst of the Middle Age. But here we are not concerned with what manner of man he was, but with what he purposed when he devoted himself to the service of God and of his brethren. Primarily he wished to restore the mode of life of the Apostles through imitation of their life of poverty and through the proclamation of the Gospel. This proclamation was to bring

Christendom to repentance and to make it actually what it already was ostensibly because of its possession of the sacraments. A community was to be formed of the brethren, who, like the Apostles, should possess nothing except penitence, faith and love, who should have no other purpose than that of service and of winning souls. St. Francis did not say explicitly how far this association should extend. He was no politician and he did not set himself in the place of rule. But what could those who were actually won over by the exhortations of the mendicants, become except themselves helpful brothers who preached as they journeyed? For these converts the saint himself instituted certain and fixed rules. Neither the individual nor the association which was formed for the practice of true Christian living, was to possess any property whatever. "Go and sell all." Life in God, suffering with His Son, love toward His men and creatures, service even to the sacrifice of personal life, wealth of the soul that has only its Saviour as its possession ; this was the gospel of St. Francis. If ever a man practised in his life that which he preached, that man was Francis. And—for this is characteristic of this occidental movement

—its rigorous asceticism, a religion of heart and will, did not this time drive its disciples out into the desert and into solitude, but the contrary. Christendom, the world, was to be won over to this new and yet old Christianity of penitence, renunciation and love. The Christian world — this notion had an entirely different compass at the beginning of the thirteenth century from that which it had in the sixth or eleventh. This was not simply because the geographical horizon of the occident had been enlarged, but in a more especial degree because the lower orders of society and the ordinary man had come to be reckoned as a part of it. Until the close of the twelfth century occidental monasticism had been ever essentially an aristocratic institution. The privileges of the monasteries corresponded in most cases to the noble lineage of their inmates. The monastery schools were as a rule only for the benefit of the nobility. The monastery remained as foreign to the coarse and common people as the lordly hall. There were no popular orders and few monks taken from ordinary life. St. Francis did not raze the walls of the monastic castles of the nobility, but beside them he erected huts for poor and rich. Thus he gave back

the gospel to the common people who hitherto had possessed only priest and sacrament. But the Saint of Assisi was a most obedient son of the church and of the pope. He labored in the service of the church. At first he proposed to monasticism—for his foundation grew to be a monasticism—special tasks in the service of Christianity, but it was in the bosom of the church, since care for the church is also concern for salvation. Clugny and its monks had taken account only of the reform of the clergy; St. Francis knew no differences. One may say without exaggeration, that his intent was not to found a new monastic order, but to transform the world. It was to become a beautiful garden, peopled by men at one with God, imitators of Christ and conscious of no lack. Love gave him the widest horizon and his fancy did not, under the influence of a harsh asceticism, transform the world into a wilderness or a desert. His purpose to serve the church and Christendom remained to the last strong and powerful. Hundreds of thousands came in streams. But what were thousands where millions were concerned? The appearance of the so-called brotherhood of the Tertiaries alongside of the regular monastic orders,

is a proof, to be sure, that the Gospel cannot be introduced into human society without compromises. but on the other hand it is a luminous sign of the deep effectiveness of the Franciscan preaching. The Tertiarii remained in their wordly callings, in marriage and the possession of property, but they conformed as far as possible to the monastic life, refrained from public functions with their tasks and duties, and they devoted themselves as far as they could to asceticism and pious works. This institution which was formed without a "founder," is a striking proof of the universal character of the Franciscan movement. There had been sects before; but this brotherhood remained true to the church. In fact the interest of the laity in the life and sacraments of the *church* was here aroused. The thought became imperceptibly operative that the lay person who was completely obedient to the church and who was possessed of earnest piety, would share in the highest good which the church could mediate. The notion of a morality, two-fold in its nature, each part of which was possessed of a different value, could be transformed on this basis into another, more tolerable, notion of morality which differed only in its outward exercises. The

active Christian life might possess the same value as the *contemplative*; only the latter affords the more direct path to salvation.

A new piety attuned by surrender of the soul to Christ proceeded from Assisi and took possession of the church. It was religious individualism and freedom that were awakened. Christianity as a *religion* was to receive its due as contrasted with its degradation into morality and politics. The most beautiful of mediæval church hymns, the most powerful sermons were produced by the Franciscan orders, and by the allied Dominicans. But to art and science as well, they gave a new and upward impulse. All of the important scholastics of the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, and Albertus, were Mendicants. The most glorious of the paintings of the old Italian school were inspired by the new spirit, a spirit of immersion in the suffering of Christ, a hallowed sadness and a world-elevating power. A Dante, a Giotto, and again a Tauler and Berthold of Ratisbon—all these with their Christian feeling, thinking and doing, lived among the religious ideas of the mendicant orders. But, (and this has a deeper significance) these monks condescended to the people and to

individuals. For their sufferings they had an eye, and for their complaints, an ear. They lived with the people, they preached to them in their own language, and they brought them a comfort which they could comprehend. That which sacrament and worship had hitherto been unable to furnish, viz : *assurance of salvation*, was now to be got by the mysticism of the orders, but it was not to be gained outside of churchly environment. The eye was to be trained to behold the Saviour and the soul was to attain to peace by means of sensuous impressions of his presence. But the "theology" which thus had its rise brought also a message concerning the religious freedom and the blessedness of the soul which was raised above the world into certainty concerning its God. In this thought it paved the way for the evangelical Reformation, even if it did not initiate it.

By means of the help afforded by the mendicant orders, the church, in the thirteenth century, was enabled to maintain its position at the acme of its dominion. She regained the good-will of her adherents, and, through the activity of the monks, she also rounded out, organized and made permanent her own hold upon the goods which are of this world, upon science, art, and law.

At the same time the book of the canon law was closed, a law that regulated all the relations of life from the standpoint of a church which swayed the world and of an asceticism which stood in the service of the church. It has no currency to-day in civilized states, but its conceptions still have their after-effects. In still larger measure philosophy and theology and even social politics are dependent still upon the method of thought which led in the thirteenth century among the mendicant orders to the masterly elaboration of the great scholastic systems. By means of the mendicant monks the church also succeeded in gaining the mastery over the schismatic movements that had laid hold upon the laity. With the zeal of wrath they overthrew not only the heretical, but also the free-thinking and evangelical unions of the thirteenth century. Thus they made common cause with the world-ruling church, the church of politics and of the sword ; indeed, they became the specially favored papal clergy, as over against the regular clergy. The popes granted them the richest privileges ; they might anywhere take a share in the regular government of the church, and in the cure of souls. In the mendicant orders the Roman pontiff provided himself an in-

strument whereby to bind the provincial churches more firmly to his stool and to break down the independence of the bishops. Thus they bore the major part in Romanizing the Catholic Church in Europe, and in manifold ways they exercised influence in connection with the oldest institutions which had sprung up from the rule of the Benedictines. But they also became secularized with the same rapidity as each of the preceding orders. The bond of union with the world-church was again on this occasion fatal to monasticism. From the start this union had been extraordinarily intimate, and the fall was correspondingly abrupt. The poverty which was to have raised them above the world became an occasion of a specific secularization so far as those were concerned who no longer held strictly to it. They felt themselves necessitated to reckon with the coarseness, the superstition and the inertness of the masses, and like these they themselves became coarse, superstitious and inert.

Nevertheless the high ideal which St. Francis had held up to Christendom could not perish without affecting most deeply the order which he had founded and the church as well. When one party in the order insisted upon a modification of the

strict rule of poverty, another party arose to its defence. When the popes took the side of the former, the zealots turned their criticism against the papacy and the world-ruling church. Complaints concerning the corruption of the church had long since been heard here and there from the midst of monasticism, but they had as invariably died away. The conflict of the church with the civil states and their pretensions had hitherto always enticed monasticism into perceiving in the plans of the church the beginning of the realization of its own aims. But now the conception became prominent, which had always slumbered in monasticism and had ever been repressed. The bond of union with the church and with the papacy was broken. Ancient apocalyptic ideas again appeared; the papal church was regarded as Babylon, as the kingdom of Anti-Christ who had falsified true Christianity, the Christianity of self-denial and poverty. The whole history of the church suddenly appeared in the light of a huge apostasy; the pope was no longer the successor of Peter, but the heir of Constantine. It was beyond the limits of expectation to bring about a change of view inside the church. Only a new revelation of the spirit could rescue, and so they

looked forward to a future everlasting gospel of Christian perfection. The church repressed this dangerous movement with all the means in her power. She declared that to be heresy which the Franciscans taught concerning the poverty of Christ and the Apostles; and she demanded subjection. A bitter struggle was the result. Christendom saw a new spectacle, that of the world-ruling church in conflict with a world-flight which had become aggressive. With the courage of those who had sacrificed everything, these spiritual men preached poverty to the pope and the bishops, and they sealed their preaching at the stake. Victorious and unchanged the church emerged at the close of the fourteenth century from its conflict with poverty. Thus once again, at the close of the Middle Age, the fundamental opposition, dormant yet ever concealed, between the aims of the church and the aims of monasticism, appeared in a frightful crisis. But the latter succumbed. The founding of the mendicant orders was the last great attempt of monasticism in the Middle Age to achieve itself and its ideals in the whole church without breaking with the history and polity of the church. But the development of the Franciscan order was two

fold. The one part renounced its ideals immediately at the start, became fully subject to the church and secularized; the other sought to enforce its ideal, made it stricter, held it up to the church itself and exhausted itself in visionary movements till it perished. The tragedy of this development appears completed, perhaps rather annulled, when we perceive that some of those individuals belonging to the order that was trying to emancipate itself from the church sought protection at the hands of the State and, in opposition to the claims of the church which were no longer or only partially recognized, defended the independence of the State and its ordinances. In the fourteenth century the Franciscans gave scientific basis to the Staufian civil policy. Occidental monasticism, which advocated this astonishing innovation, was unable to exist for long without a close connection with the powers of society. Of its own motion it sought out the State when the church was denied it. Still this movement was only temporary. In the fifteenth century there was dead silence in the order which had then become fully subject to the church; lifeless attempts at reform produced no new life. With a few honorable exceptions, in

the age of the renaissance monasticism appeared to have condemned itself to indolence and uselessness. Still the new culture was not wholly opposed to the ascetic ideals, though its apostles often and freely poured forth the full measure of their ridicule upon the ignorant, slavishly meek and hypocritical monkish tribe. Rather, there reappeared the image of the man, wise and pious, the man who resigns himself to the enjoyment of quiet contemplation of heaven and also of the world in peaceful separation from the confusion of day, the man who feels no lack because in spirit he possesses all things. In fact the attempt was made to realize this ideal in the traditional forms of monastery life, and the attempt did not always fail. (But it was the fortune only of a few individuals to be able to unite monastic regulations with the study of Cicero and Plato and to be sufficient for both.) The scholar, possessed of a knowledge of the world, who at his study-table enthusiastically praised Stoic equanimity or Franciscan self-sufficiency, was by no means a monk, and the church remained what she had been in spite of all his classical and edifying treatises. Just as in the days before Francis pointed out the way, the people sought after the assurance of

blessedness in all sorts of pious and fanatical unions which were occasionally of service to the church, but which were nevertheless a constant menace to her.

What now remained? What new form of monasticism was still possible after all these attempts? None other, or, rather, yet *one* which was in reality not another, but which was nevertheless the last and in a certain sense the true expression of occidental monasticism. It was possible to reverse entirely the relation between asceticism and ecclesiastical service; to adopt as the highest aim that which had always hovered before monasticism in the West, but which had ever been grasped with hesitation. It was still possible to found, in place of an ascetic society, a company which should follow no other aim than to strengthen and to extend the authority of the church. The fame of having recognized this possibility and of having comprehended the lesson taught by history, belongs to the Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola. His creation, the order of the Jesuits, which he set over against the Reformation, was no longer a monasticism in the oldest sense of the word; in fact it appears as an explicit protest against the monasticism of an Anthony or a Francis. True,

the Jesuit order was provided with all the rules of the older orders, but *that* became its dominant principle, which the earlier orders had only accepted with uncertainty and which they allowed to be forced upon them completely by circumstances. In the Jesuit order all asceticism, all world-flight, was simply a means to an end. Separation from the world extended only as far as was necessary in order to dominate the world, to dominate it politically by means of the church, since its explicit purpose is domination by the church. Religious phantasy, education and its opposite, magnificence and poverty, policy and simplicity — all these were employed by the order for the attainment of the *one* object to which it devoted itself. Through it the Western Catholic Church at the same time neutralized monasticism and gave it a direction by which it made the church's aims entirely its own. And yet this order was not the work of a simply clever and calculating purpose alone. As it came into existence it was the product of a lofty enthusiasm ; but it was an enthusiasm which proceeded from within *that* church which had already repudiated every form of evangelical reformation, that had determined to maintain itself in *that* form which worldly

wisdom and policy had given her in the course of her long history.

On the other hand the Jesuit order was the last and true expression of occidental monasticism. Its origin and its character are along the same line which we have followed from Benedict to Clugny, and thence to the mendicants. It solved the problems which these orders were unable to solve, and it attained the ends toward which they strove. It produced a new sort of piety, gave it its own peculiar forms of expression and its method of assimilation, addressed itself to all Christendom and prevailed. It knew how to enlist the interest of the laity for the profit of the church, and by means of its mysticism to make that attainable which hitherto had been denied. [It permeated the entire life of the church in all departments and it placed the faithful at the feet of the pope.] But the order did not simply continue to follow out independent purposes in the service of the church. It has also always known how to maintain itself in a certain independence of her. Just as it not infrequently brought the policy of the popes into accord with the programme of the papacy, so to-day it dominates the church with its Christianity, its fantastic and sensuous cultus and its

political morals. Never did it become a dead instrument in the hands of the church, and never has it become secularized after the fashion of the earlier orders. This order never was changed into an institution of the church, but the church has come under the domination of the Jesuits. Monasticism has actually won a triumph over the world-church of the West.

Monasticism has conquered, but what sort of a monasticism? Not that of a St. Francis, but one which began by making the programme of the world-church its own, thereby emptying itself of and abandoning its essential character. Asceticism and renunciation of the world became here political forms and means; sensuous mysticism and diplomacy came to occupy the place of simple piety and moral restraint. Objectively this monasticism can only prove its genuineness by means of its antithesis to the state and to intellectual development, as well as by the low estimate which it places on the value of the individual. Under the domination of the Jesuit order the church has been specifically and definitely secularized; over against the world, history and education, she now places her proprietorship of the world, the bequest of the Middle Age.

Her consciousness of a "supramundane character" ("Ueberweltlichkeit") gets its force to-day, essentially from her opposition to the culture of the renaissance and the Reformation, but she acquires her power through the imperfection or absence of that culture, and from the mistakes of its promoters. If one regards the negative relation of the church to the modern state as the expression of the old impulse to flee from the world, then monasticism has actually conquered in the church ; but if one sees an essential secularization in the way that the church maintains this relation, then the *monasticism* of the Jesuits is to be held responsible for it. The other orders scarcely come in for further consideration as historical factors. The Jesuit order has influenced almost all of them, both older and younger. Whether they have returned to oriental taciturnity, like the Trappists, whether some of them, after the manner of the ancient Egyptian monks, regard even churchly science with mistrust and oppose it vigorously, whether they continue an existence divided between the world and asceticism while still accomplishing much in the aid and rescue of individuals—they are no longer a factor in church history. They have been dissolved by the Jesuits and—

by the Congregations, those elastic and pliable creations in which the spirit of the Jesuit order has identified itself with the demands and the institutions of modern society. These Congregations which, at call, can be worldly or spiritual, free or fettered, constitute in truth modern Catholic monasticism.

In the Western church, which set up for itself moral and political ends, the original monasticism and its ideals have not been able to achieve permanent success. In so far as it determined to bear a share in the church's mission to the world, it was compelled to transform itself into an ecclesiastical Company, which demonstrates its freedom from the world merely in political reaction against the culture and history of the world, thereby bringing to completeness the secularization of the church. Oriental monasticism has retained its independence, but it is barren; occidental monasticism has remained active, but it is empty. In the East it suffered shipwreck because it dared to disregard its moral mission to the world; in the West it suffered defeat because it subjected itself to a church which put religion and morality at the service of policy. But there as here it was the church itself which produced monasticism and pre-

scribed its ideals. Therefore, in the orient as in the occident, though to be sure only after long hesitation and after severe crises, monasticism finally became a conserver of ecclesiastical habit and the guardian of churchly empiricism. Its original aims have by the same sign swung over into their exact opposites.

Indeed, even to-day, monasticism can give peace to individuals who are tired of the world ; but history points beyond it to the simple message that *that* man begins the following after Christ who in his calling and position by faith and loving service bears his personal share in the labor for the kingdom of God. But even this ideal does not coincide with the lofty demands of the message of the Gospel; still it indicates the direction which the Christian is to take and it assures him, so far as it is possible, against self-deception and untruth. Like all ideals it was set up because men were concerned to terminate an unbearable condition of need, but, like others, it soon became secularized and falsified. Still if it does not pretend to be more than a confession that no one can attain to the completeness of life which is set forth in the Gospel, if it is to be taken as an avowal that the Christian in every condition must trust

entirely to divine help and grace, then it will be the strength of the weak, and it may become an emblem of peace midst the strife of denominations.

